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VIII. — *On the Development of the Thank-offering among the Greeks*

BY PROFESSOR JOSEPH WILLIAM HEWITT

WESLEYAN UNIVERSITY

GRATITUDE is one of the noblest emotions of mankind. We take it for granted and despise him who fails to feel it and manifest it towards his fellowmen and towards his God. But though the psychology of gratitude towards men is still almost an untilled field, psychologists recognize that the emotion is far from simple¹ or primitive, but is one of the more developed products of our human nature. But gratitude to God must have arisen still later. It presupposes a considerable degree of anthropomorphism. Man believes that his gods desire the manifestation of gratitude for favors conferred only because he himself desires it, and because he conceives his gods to be of like passions with himself. It presupposes also that the purely magical stage of religion has been left behind. No thanks are due for benefits extorted from the god by magical formula or act. It is only benefits freely conferred that call forth the emotion of genuine gratitude. Man does not feel obliged to offer thanks for what he believes to be due to his own knowledge of a formula, rather than to his god's good will. The benefit he has thus received is not a gift and calls for nothing in return.

With the rise of the gift theory of sacrifice, it was perhaps inevitable that the recognition of the duty of gratitude to God should result in some sort of a thank-offering, but what were the steps of the process? It is from the standpoint of the Greek religion that I shall approach the subject in this paper.

Beyond a cursory mention in some of the manuals of Greek religion, there seems to be practically no literature upon the Greek thank-offering. Nor outside the field of Greek religion has the subject of the expression of gratitude to God in act and prayer been at all adequately treated; except for a few

¹ MacDougall, *Introduction to Social Psychology*, 132.

illuminating pages in Wundt's *Mythus und Religion*,¹ little light has been shed upon it. In Hebrew cult, notwithstanding the copious ritual literature of the Pentateuch, the very terminology of this kind of sacrifice is in such confusion, especially in the English versions, that it is hard to tell with any certainty what rites were thank-offerings.²

The subject was brought to my attention as I attempted to put in order a collection I had been making of passages dealing with propitiation, a subject on which there is a more abundant, though still woefully inadequate, literature. I found a number of cases where rites almost certainly propitiatory in the main were strongly impregnated with thanksgiving or even bore the technical name of the thank-offering.³ This at once posed the question of the relation of the two types of sacrifice. Were they of independent origin, or was one derived from the other? My own hypothesis, based on the study of a large number of passages which mention or suggest thank-offering, is that its origin is not simple, but that several different lines of cult were converging toward this lofty and complex feature of religion. The object of this paper is to present from my collection a number of passages, some of them not a little familiar, which seem to me to shed light upon this particular point and show the thank-offering already far beyond the stage of magic and in process of evolution from (a) the payment of a vow, (b) the sacrifice of propitiation, (c) the celebration banquet; with brief prefatory discussion of the evidence to be found in our earliest sources, the Homeric poems.

In a study of development it is the border line instances that are of most significance and the evidence in these poems is largely of this character. In spite of the remarkably ad-

¹ *Völkerpsychologie*, 2, Bd. II, 333 f., 338, 341 f., 447 ff., 461; III, 108, 144, 168, 657 ff.; he traces it back through propitiation to the primeval 'Zaubermotiv.' Its object is, partly at least, to retain for the future the favor of demons and gods, e.g. II, 333 f., 338.

² See Moore on Judges xx, 26 (*Intern. Crit. Comm.*), for the meaning of the term rendered "peace offerings" in the English version, and cf. Toy on Proverbs vii, 14, and H. P. Smith on 1 Samuel xi, 15 (same series).

³ E.g. Suidas, s.v. *προχαριστήρια*; Plutarch, *Camillus*, 7.

vanced type of religion that meets us in the epics, there is very little that is unequivocally thank-offering. As I ponder the instances that have been considered such, I suspect that few or none of them are at all pure thanksgiving. In *Iliad*, ix, 533, Artemis sends a wild boar to punish Oeneus for neglecting to pay the harvest offering (*θαλύσια*) to her. But was the harvest offering a thanksgiving? Seymour¹ so considered it, but glance through a list of more or less primitive harvest ceremonies, as, for instance, that in Frazer's *Dying God*,² and you will find surprisingly little that is unequivocally thank-offering. Such rites were brought into causal connection not with the crop just harvested, but with the fertility of the field for the succeeding year,³ and were probably, as Wundt⁴ maintains, magical in their origin. Of course they ultimately became thanksgiving and in Homer's time were already on their way to become such, how far on their way is precisely the question. Certainly the Homeric Greek had not attained the height of the Hebrew idea⁵ that thank-offerings were not required but were freewill gifts which God did not demand, but was of course gratified to receive. Artemis does demand the harvest offering, and the extreme vigor of her insistence imports into the rite a considerable element of propitiation. The impression the passage would leave upon the Homeric audience would be that the firstfruits must be offered⁶ to keep the deity in good humor and avert ill consequences. Gratitude so motivated is not yet gratitude.

The sacrifice offered by Nestor and his company at the southern point of Euboea⁷ after their voyage across the Aegean on their way home has also been interpreted as

¹ *Life in the Homeric Age*, 500.

² Pp. 20 ff.

³ Mogk, "Ein Nachwort zu den Menschenopfern der Germanen," *Arch. f. Religionswissenschaft*, xv, 425.

⁴ *Mythus und Religion*, II, 447.

⁵ See McClintock and Strong, *Cycl. of Bibl. Theol. and Eccl. Lit.* x, 300; cf. Briggs on Psalm I, 14 (*Intern. Crit. Comm.*).

⁶ A fully developed instance of *ἀπαρχαί* as propitiation appears in connection with the Attic Proerosia, where the Delphic oracle prescribed that *ἀπαρχαί* be brought to Athens to avert a pestilence. Bloch in Roscher, *Ausführliches Lexicon*, II, 1324

⁷ *Od.* III, 178 f.

thank-offering for peril safely past. But the peril is not yet past; much of the journey remains to be accomplished, and the sacrifice is offered to Poseidon, the deity from whom they had most to fear. The sacrifice is, perhaps, not essentially different from that in 159 ff., performed on Tenedos. Neither has sole reference to the past, but each is chiefly a precaution in view of a perilous future enterprise.¹ I hesitate to say that no thank-offerings at all are recorded in Homer, but, if there are, the accounts of them are certainly very curiously confused. The contrast is striking between, *e.g.*, Longus, who relates the performance of repeated thank-offerings on every possible occasion,² and Homer, who makes no definite mention of gratitude nor of its expression in sacrifice even where it seems *a priori* inevitable. Take, for instance, the passage³ where Odysseus has at length been landed upon his native isle after twenty years of wandering. When he awakes and recognizes his whereabouts, he lifts up his hands and prays. But he prays to the Ithacan nymphs, who have had no hand in his return, and he says, "Rejoice for the present in kindly vows, but (in the future) we shall give you gifts as well (*i.e.* we shall pay our vows), just as we did before." Offerings are to be forthcoming, but they are not, specifically at least, thank-offerings for his preservation and safe return, but merely the resumption of the honorific (possibly propitiatory⁴) sacrifices he used to accord

¹ Cf. the sacrifice offered by the Argonauts after their deliverance from the Syrtis (Apollonius Rhodius, IV, 1594 ff.). Though offered to the deity who has served them, there is not a word of thanks, but the prayer is (1598):

ἔλαθι, καὶ νόστοιο τέλος θυμηδὲς ὄπαζε.

Cf. 1547. In 649 f. there seems to be reference to a thank-offering, probably, however, in fulfilment of vows made in 587 ff.

² *E.g.* II, 31; IV, 26, 1 ff.; IV, 32, 3; IV, 37, 2.

³ *Od.* XIII, 355 ff., a prayer of thanksgiving, according to Ausfeld, *Jahrbücher*, Suppl. xxviii, 509.

⁴ In the Greece of old (Theocr. XIII, 44), as in the Greece of to-day (Farnell, *Cults of Greek States*, v, 426), the nymphs had an uncanny character and were felt to require propitiation (Frazer, *Pausanias*, v, 20 f.). With the address of Odysseus to the nymphs compare the Roman custom of greeting the Penates after a prolonged absence from home, Terence, *Phormio*, 311, and, for Greece, Eur. *Herc. Fur.* 599 f.

the nymphs before his departure from the island, "just as we did before" (line 350).

Among these Homeric instances we have found mention of undefined sacrifices offered at a time when propitiation might have been expected. Homer seems to know little or nothing of ritual propitiation; only the faintest traces of the propitiatory ritual, doubtless common long before, as it certainly was long after, his time, are found in these poems. But in one or two instances we find the terminology of propitiation attached to rites which otherwise would rather suggest thanksgiving. In the first *Iliad* (472) Chryses makes a sacrifice upon the restoration of his captive daughter, and entertains with a banquet the men who have brought her back. Wine and song enliven the occasion, and certainly then, if ever, we should expect Chryses to be performing a thank-offering. But the poet tells us οἱ δὲ πανημέριοι μολπῇ θεὸν ἱλάσκοντο. Is, then, the rite that looked like a thank-offering really a propitiation? We must not say so too hastily. The only apparent need of propitiation is on the part of the Greek guests, whose king had insulted Apollo's priest, and such a rite would be more appropriate in the Greek camp than in the injured priest's house. Further, the normal rites of propitiation were peculiar and quite distinct, and the worshippers were usually forbidden to partake of the sacrificial meat. This feast has none of the regular earmarks of propitiation as we find it outside the Homeric poems. Then, too, need we translate ἱλάσκοντο by the meaning it had in the later literature? Does it mean anything more, here, than "make (or keep) benignant"? Even so, there would be a distinct suggestion of the necessity of keeping (*a fortiori* of making) the deity benignant. And observe that the song they use is the paean, which, as Fairbanks¹ has shown, developed into its later festal use from a distinctly deprecatory and apotropaic significance. Observe, too, that it is to Apollo in his averting capacity of ἐκάεργος² that the song is addressed. And

¹ "A Study of the Greek Paean," *Cornell Studies in Class. Philol.* XII (1900), esp. pp. 14-17 and p. 66.

² See Leaf *aa h. l.*

in the sixth *Iliad* (526 ff.) Hector promises that if Zeus will grant the Trojans to drive out the Achaean foe and circulate the winebowl freely in their halls, he will — thank the gods? No, he will appease (*ἀρεσσόμεθ'*¹) the gods. If the Homeric poet knows of the thank-offering, he evidently has at his command no terminology to describe it, but is struggling with language that still bears the flavor of the propitiatory sacrifice.²

There is one more Homeric instance which merits a word. It is the passage in the *Odyssey* (xii, 346 ff.) where the famishing companions of Odysseus determine to disregard his warnings and slay the sacred cattle of Helios. "And if we come safe to Ithaca, we will make a temple for Helios and statues." Had this promise, or vow, ever been fulfilled, it is easy to see that its performance might have been interpreted as a thank-offering for preservation; but in its context it is evident that the object of those who promised it was to disarm the god's wrath at the contemplated injury to his herds, — an attempt to purchase an indulgence, as it were. The development of the vow to the thank-offering is a very natural one; indeed, in some cases it can actually be traced. The votive offering is not unknown to Homer. This, at least in later times, regularly appears in payment of a vow, or as thank-offering, but there are instances in Homer where it is clear that not thanks for the past, but propitiation for the future, is the intent of the gift, for it is offered where no benefit has been received and is designed rather to secure than to acknowledge the divine favor. Such is the garment offered to Athena³ by the Trojan women in the stress of the siege. Herodotus⁴ includes expensive dedicatory offerings

¹ This word, though later it often means 'please,' in Homer regularly connotes placation of an offended person or deity. So, *e.g.*, *Il.* ix, 120; *Od.* viii, 396.

² In striking contrast to Homer's obscurity or silence is the clear and definite account of a thank-offering performed by a Homeric character as described by Dionysius of Halicarnassus (i, 55, 2), who wrote when the thank-offering had obtained a recognized standing in the religious world. The practice of Apollonius Rhodius is nearer that of Homer. See p. 98, n. i.

³ *Il.* vi, 88 ff.; cf. *Od.* xvi, 185.

⁴ i, 90 ff.; cf. Xen. *Cyr.* vii, 2, 19. In Luc. *Charon*, ii, these have become *μισθὸν τῶν χρησμένων*.

among the means by which Croesus attempted to appease the Delphic Apollo, whom he had insulted by disbelief in the oracle. It is natural to suppose that the propitiatory significance of the dedicatory gift preceded its use as a thank-offering. Hock,¹ in his important work, *Griechische Weihegebräuche*, finds its origin in the grave cult and the worship of the dead, where it would certainly not be a thanksgiving, nor even the payment of a vow, but would be very near the propitiation or the averting of harm that are so often found in connection with the cult of the dead, and are considered by Wundt² to be the most primitive type of real sacrifice.³ From its origin in the lower strata of religious practice, the dedicatory offering rose to be the payment of a vow made in time of peril. This brought it to the higher ranges of the domain of propitiation, whence it became an offering of thanksgiving. But this last step was a great advance, for it was progress from the mere payment of what was little more than a business obligation, to a rite involving the emotion of gratitude. As early as Xenophon⁴ the payment of a vow is called a thank-offering (*σωτήρια*) or, perhaps I should say, is called by a term that was becoming one of the two commonest words for thank-offering.⁵ The process of the evolution is well portrayed in the following familiar incident. Before Marathon the Athenians vowed to sacrifice to Artemis as many goats

¹ See *Bursians Jahresh.* CXL, III, 7.

² *Mythus und Religion*, II, 449.

³ If it be true that the *ἀνάθημα* rose from the cult of the dead to become a frequent accompaniment of the thank-offering, its development would be fairly paralleled by that of athletic games, provided, again, that these were, as Körte thinks (*Hermes*, XXXIX, 226 ff.), originally employed at the burial of the dead. See also Gruppe, *Bericht über Mythologie und Religionsgeschichte*, 1898-1905, 351. (But for other views, especially of the Olympic games, see Cook in *Folk-lore*, xv, 398 ff., and Cornford in Miss Harrison's *Themis*, 212-259). The games at the funeral of Patroclus are clearly no part of a thank-offering, they are to honor or appease the dead. If such games regularly accompanied the funeral of those who had fallen in battle, they might easily come to be part of a celebration of the victory which the fallen had helped achieve, even when funeral rites are not stated to have been connected with the contests. See Arrian, *Anab.* v, 20, 1, compared with II, 24, 6 and v, 29, 1.

⁴ *Anab.* III, 2, 9.

⁵ Herodotus (I, 118) uses *σώστρα* of the thank-offering.

as they should kill Persians.¹ But finding it impossible to secure enough goats to pay their vow at once, they determined to pay it in annual instalments of five hundred each. Seven hundred years later they were still performing this annual sacrifice,² but as they had slain only 6400 Persians,³ the vow would have been paid off in about thirteen years if no interruption supervened. Evidently, in the joy of their signal deliverance, emphasized, perhaps, by the stirring events of ten years later, the Athenians had continued a joyous and doubtless popular feast, which had already come to be viewed in the light of a thanksgiving.⁴

Of Agesilaus, Xenophon⁵ says that he was grateful to the gods when he had good fortune, and that when he was out of danger he used to sacrifice more than he had vowed when he was in trouble. In this very utterance, which shows that a Spartan could feel real gratitude to God and desire to express it in act, we see that no thank-offering is thought of aside from the payment of the vow.⁶ It is still only a bonus added to what was due the gods as a matter of cold business, — not yet a separate sacrifice. Xenophon is perhaps the earliest Greek writer to lay marked stress upon the thank-offering.⁷ He reveals an almost anachronistic conception of man's

¹ Xen. *Anab.* III, 2, 12; cf. Schol. on Ar. *Eq.* 660.

² Aelian, *Var. Hist.* II, 25; by this time the number of the goats annually sacrificed had apparently been reduced to three hundred. Or Aelian may be in error in this detail, as he is regarding the date on which the sacrifice was made. See Sandys on Aristotle, *Pol. Ath.* 58, 1.

³ Herod. VI, 117.

⁴ On the analogy of this feast, others would be established, as, for instance, the annual thank-offering for the battle of Plataea, rendered to the nymphs of a cave on Mount Cithaeron (Plut. *Aristid.* 19, cf. 11), possibly in payment of some vow made before or in the battle. With this was coupled an offering to Zeus Eleutherios (*ibid.*), who would tend to absorb the whole ceremony. Though Pausanias knows of the Sphragitid nymphs (IX, 3, 9), he ascribes the cult to Zeus alone (IX, 2, 5 f.).

⁵ *Ages.* 11, 2.

⁶ Cf. Psalm cxvi, 12, 14, 17, 18, where to the question "What shall I render unto the Lord for all his benefits unto me?" the twice uttered answer is "I will pay my vows unto the Lord."

⁷ *Eg. Anab.* IV, 6, 27; *Cyr.* IV, 1, 2; VII, 2, 28; *Hell.* I, 6, 37; IV, 3, 14; VII, 2, 23.

duty to God.¹ The loftiest and purest instance of thanksgiving I have found anywhere in Greek literature is that recorded of Cyrus the Great at the end of his life.² But some of the cases mentioned in Xenophon seem to have been payment of vows.³ Later in the century the references to thank-offering become fairly frequent, but they are often still curiously shot through with the terminology, the ritual, and even the spirit of propitiation.

In the dramatists the passages that refer to the thank-offering, or may reasonably be taken to imply its existence, are fairly frequent. Some of the instances that might be quoted as such, to be sure, do not bear critical examination. Eur. *Heracleidae*, 867 ff. is a case in point. There is a *prayer* of gratitude, but 877,

καὶ θεοῖς πατρώοις θύσῃθ',

need mean no more, in its connection, than "you will get back home again."⁴ It is not clear that any special offering of thanks is meant. The *σωτήρια* and *τροπαῖα* of 402 are not thank-offerings and trophies, but propitiatory sacrifices to turn back the enemy and save the state. Nor does the promise in Aeschylus, *Cho.* 483 ff. refer to a thanksgiving for the aid that the brother and sister are praying their dead father to grant. What is promised is, on the one hand, the regular rites in honor of the dead,—and these were precautionary if not actually avertive; on the other, the marriage libations, *χοαὶ γαμήλιοι*, which are not to be considered in any sense a thanksgiving for the marriage (see Aesch. *Eum.* 834 ff.). So too, certain passages that unquestionably refer to thanksgiving have about them a curious flavor of something else. For instance at the end of the *Alcestis*, the people are ordered by Admetus *βωμούς τε κυσᾶν βουθύτοισι προστροπαῖς* where the last word has the connotation of propitiation and

¹ *Ages.* II, 2.

² *Cyr.* VIII, 7, 3. This is also prayer; for prayer of thanksgiving and its comparative rarity see Ausfeld, *Jahrbücher*, Suppb. xxviii, 509 f.

³ *Anab.* III, 2, 12 (but see *Rep. Lac.* 13, 8 and *Hell.* IV, 2, 20 for the suggestion of propitiation in this rite); III, 2, 9; IV, 8, 25. Cf. also *Mem.* IV, 3, 15 f.

⁴ Cf. [Eur.] *Rhesus*, 235.

the averting of evil.¹ Sophocles (*Ant.* 150 ff.) has a curious reference to *nocturnal* choruses to the temples of all the gods, at the deliverance of Thebes from siege. Aeschylus (*Ag.* 594) refers to the sacrifice offered by Clytemnestra on the news of Troy's fall. To be sure, we see that all the time it is, in the mind of the sacrificer, a propitiatory rite, but the situation presupposes the propriety and the likelihood of her offering a sacrifice of thanksgiving. *Suppl.* 980 ff. implies a thank-offering to Soter gods, and clear cases occur, *e.g.* in Sophocles, *Ajax*, 911 ff., and in Euripides, *Ion*, 1123 f., 1130.

Though the bonus was not required, the vow itself must be paid, or serious consequences might ensue. Camillus² at Rome neglected to perform a vow and was informed by seers that God's anger required propitiation and thanksgiving (*χαριστηρίων*)—a curious combination. In this sole instance Liddell and Scott render *χαριστήρια* by the word *supplicatio*, and possibly the double (propitiatory and gratulatory) significance of the Latin word, which he doubtless found in his sources, may have confused Plutarch. But we must remember that by his time the payment of a vow had come to be regarded as thanksgiving.³

The word *ἱλασμός* in this last passage conducts us naturally to another phase of the thank-offering. May not certain rites of thanksgiving have had their origin in actual and undisguised propitiation? The confusion of the two in Homer we have already discussed, and I believe it traceable far beyond the early epic. Theognis, urging a cheerful libation to the gods⁴ when the Medic invasion was threatening the

¹ Liddell and Scott recognize this fact, but perhaps not adequately; for example, as an instance of a colorless meaning for *προστροπή*, — 'any address to a god,' they cite Aesch. *Pers.* 216, where the object of the *προστροπαί* is explicitly stated to be

τῶνδ' ἀποτροπὴν τελεῖν.

On the connotation of *προστρόπαιος* see Hatch in *Harvard Studies*, XIX, 185 f., cf. Hewitt, *ibid.* 111.

² Plut. *Cam.* 7; cf. *Dem.* XXI, 53.

³ Cf. Soph. *Aj.* 172 ff., which may denote neglect to keep a vow or failure to render a thank-offering.

⁴ 757 ff.; cf. 773 ff. Observe the use of the word *ἀρεσσάμενοι* and cf. n. 1 on page 100. The occasion calls for propitiation, the terminology suggests propitiation, but the cheerful tone of the passage suggests thanksgiving.

city, is on the border line between propitiation and thanksgiving; and a thank-offering voted by the Roman senate¹ to succeed immediately certain purifications instituted to avert *μῦσμα*, is thanksgiving, if at all, only by anticipation. With the growth of a higher type of religion and the partial disappearance of the anxious fear which characterizes the lower stages, the transformation of the propitiatory to the thank-offering is quite natural.² The very etymology of the two commonest terms for the thank-offering (*σωτήρια* and *χαριστήρια*) seems to put us not after the event, looking back at it, but before the event and looking forward to it with a greater or less degree of apprehension. *σωτήριον* should denote a means of saving,³ *χαριστήριον* should signify a means of pleasing, perhaps of appeasing.⁴ But as early as Xenophon⁵ the neuter plural of these words has taken on a technical significance and denotes thank-offering. From Xenophon to about the time of the Christian era the two words are rare; they become common only when we find the thank-offering itself fully developed.

In fact, it is overdeveloped. It is going to seed. Real thanksgiving connotes real religion, and, in spite of Paul's compliment to the Athenians, I fear that the Greeks of the imperial period were not "very religious." More and more it became customary to institute so-called thanksgivings merely in commemoration of some happy event or of some human being to whom a city attributed its safety,⁶ and even at that

¹ Dion. Hal. v, 57, 5.

² In *Hec.* 136 ff. Euripides speaks as if the sacrifices to the dead were thank-offerings. The Greeks would be *ἀχάριστοι* to omit them.

³ See, for instance, Eur. *Phoen.* 918; *Herac.* 402.

⁴ On the development of another common term, *εὐχαριστήρια*, a suggestive sidelight is thrown in an exhaustive discussion by Th. Schermann, "Εὐχαριστία u. εὐχαριστεῖν in ihrem Bedeutungswandel bis 200 n. Chr." *Philologus*, LXIX (1910), 375 ff.; see especially 410.

⁵ *σωτήρια* most fully developed, *Anab.* III, 2, 9; *χαριστήρια*, *Cyr.* IV, 1, 2; VII, 2, 28; VIII, 7, 3.

⁶ Plut. *Aratus*, 53; cf. 14 fin. In Arr. *Anab.* v, 29, 1 the rite is both *χαριστήρια* and *μνημεῖα*. In Plut. *Lyc.* 11 it is doubtful which of the two a temple was intended to be; cf. Paus. IX, 22, 1. See Daremberg-Saglio, s.v. *Soteria*.

it is clear that display rather than gratitude was often the motive of the celebration.¹

I have space merely to mention certain specific instances of the development of rites from propitiation to thank-offering. The Attic feast of the Proerosia, an ancient propitiatory ritual,² employed before ploughing, was closely connected with thank-offerings sent to Athens from other communities in gratitude for relief from the pestilence which the Proerosia had been instituted to avert.³

And then there is the puzzling Procharisteria, or "thank-offering before the event,"⁴ an ancient rite held in spring when the crops were beginning to grow. The expression *ὑπὲρ τῶν φυομένων καρπῶν*⁵ may be interpreted either as propitiation or as thanks, but it seems curious to offer thanks for the half-grown crops at the most perilous stage of their growth,⁶ and I cannot find another instance of an agricultural feast of thanksgiving in the spring.⁷ It looks like propitiation, but, if it was, it acquired in some way a name that, in spite of its anomalous prefix, would suggest to every Greek a rite of thanksgiving.

¹ Paus. x, 11, 5.

² Farnell, *Cults*, III, 42; Schol. Ar. *Eq.* 729.

³ Schol. Ar. *Plut.* 1054. For a possible cause of the connection see Farnell, *Cults*, III, 43 f.

⁴ Suidas, s.v. *Προχαριστήρια*, Bekk. *Anec.* 295. Harpocration has *προσχαριστήρια*, but this form is pretty certainly wrong. See Mommsen, *Feste der Stadt Athen*, 365¹.

⁵ *ὑπὲρ* perhaps suggests propitiation: *Il.* 1, 444; Xen. *Oec.* 5, 20; Eur. *Phoen.* 913; Herod. vii, 114; but it is used also of thanksgiving: Arr. *Anab.* vi, 28, 3; Ditt. *Syll.* 209, 22; 649, 23, etc.; *El. Mag.* 706, 44; Plut. *Aristides*, 19, etc.

⁶ Band, *Diasien*, 19 f.

⁷ Dion. Hal. 1, 88, 3, thus describes the Roman Parilia: *θόουσι . . . νομεῖς θούσαν χαριστήριον ἔσπος ἀρχομένον*. But this is clearly not its original function (Wissowa, *Religion der Römer*, 166; Peter on Ovid, *Fasti*, iv, 721 ff.). Its connection with the Fordicidia, the use of sulphur and of the apotropaic laurel, the leaping through fire, etc., all point to a feast not of thanksgiving but of lustration and propitiation. When the Parilia became a feast in memory of the founding of Rome (Wissowa, *ibid.*), it was natural that the day should be spent, as Dionysius says, *ἐν εὐπαθείαις* and be considered a cheerful thank-offering, cf. Theognis, 775 ff. Farnell (*Cults*, iv, 287 ff.) has shown good reason to doubt that the feast that celebrated Apollo's return from the Hyperboreans came as early as the beginning or even the end of spring. And, in any event, such a festival is an epiphany feast rather than a thank-offering.

The Haloia is another rite of ambiguous significance, — so ambiguous that, while Nilsson¹ considers its object to be the prosperity of the germinating seed, Stengel calls it a harvest thanksgiving.² It may well have been the former, until the growth of the notion that God demanded the expression of gratitude caused it to be interpreted as a thanksgiving. The *εἰρεσιώνη* seems to have undergone a parallel change of significance. It is mentioned twice in Aristophanes,³ but with no hint that it was considered in any sense a thank-offering. It probably was, in fact, a charm hung over the door as a protection against famine.⁴ But the scholiasts speak of it as a thank-offering, apparently confusing it with the offering of *ἀπαρχαί*, to which one scholium⁵ refers rather vaguely *ὥσπερ χαριστήριον*, while another⁶ more explicitly uses the technical term for the thank-offering, the plural *χαριστήρια*. A scholiast on the same passage seems to be aware that it was instituted to avert a famine, but that does not prevent him from calling it a thank-offering, for such it probably was in his day. The same confusion of inconsistent ideas is illustrated by a page of Demosthenes, containing sundry oracles which prescribe thank-offering to Bromios⁷ and dances and the wearing of garlands and *μνασιδωρεῖν*, but mix therewith rites to be performed *ὅτι τὰς ὥρας παρηνέγκατε τῆς θυσίας καὶ τῆς θεωρίας* and sacrifices to Apollo Apotropaeus.⁸

The scholiast on *Pax*, 923 applies the term *χαριστήρια* to the pots of pulse which were placed before newly consecrated statues, apparently only those of minor deities. It seems to me, however, that he betrays (*a*) that the rite was really placatory; (*b*) that it properly and originally applied only to Hermes⁹ when he says that it was *ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ βραδύνειν παρὰ τὴν ἀνάστασιν*, which probably means that Hermes the psychopomp was thus propitiated, so that at the resurrection he might lead up the soul of his worshipper without delay.

¹ *De Dionysiis*, 96 ff.; *Griechische Feste*, 329.

² In Pauly-Wissowa, VII, 2278.

⁴ Farnell, *Cults*, IV, 269.

⁶ On *Pl.* 1054.

⁸ On the genuineness of these oracles see Goodwin *ad h. l.* ⁹ Cf. *Pax*, 924.

³ *Plut* 1054; *Eq.* 729.

⁵ On *Eq.* 729.

⁷ *xxi*, 51-54.

Of the two legends mentioned by Pausanias to explain the origin of the Olympic Heraea, the first¹ ascribes it to the gratitude of Hippodamia for marriage with Peleus. This is from the realm of myth and has a distinctly aetiological flavor, besides finding no justification in the rite itself. A more reasonable explanation is the second,² which has at least the outward appearance of being historical. Though it doubtless does not tell the whole story,³ it suggests propitiation and reminds us of the propitiatory procession of the Trojan women with a peplos to the temple of Athena.⁴

There can be little doubt that the *τροπαῖον*, raised after battle, was viewed as a thank-offering to the god to whom it was dedicated. I have suspected for some time, however, that it was in its origin an *ἀποτρόπαιον*,⁵ and I find my suspicion confirmed in a work on the Tropaeum Traianum.⁶ The derivation from *τροπή* seems to date only from Varro, and the trophy was not necessarily erected at the point where the flight began. To remove the arms from the dead removes his ability to execute vengeance on his slayer and is on a par with *μασχαλισμός*.⁷

Like the gratulatory significance of the trophy, the sacrifice of victory (*νικητήρια*) must have been a comparatively late development in Greek religion. Conservative Sparta honored the gods after victory with no sacrifices except that of a cock.⁸ Not even their great triumph at Mantinea called

¹ v, 16, 4. ² v, 16, 5. ³ See Cornford in Miss Harrison's *Themis*, 230.

⁴ *Il.* vi, 88 ff. This is perhaps a better parallel than those from Mexico and the Society Islands (Frazer, *Pausanias*, III, 593), though these may well illustrate the psychological basis of the Greek rite.

⁵ Possibly the name is merely an abbreviation, as the *θεοὶ ἀποτρόπαιοι* seem sometimes to have been called *τροπαῖοι*, Plut. *Parall.* 310 B; *Sept. Sap. Conv.* 149 D (Wytt.). I am not so sure now (cf. *Harvard Studies*, XIX, 109¹⁰) that this is not sometimes true when the title is applied to a single deity.

⁶ Tocilescu, *Das Monument von Adamklissi*, 127 ff., especially 132.

⁷ Rohde, *Psyche*⁴, I, 322 ff.

⁸ Plut. *Ages.* 33; in *Marcellus*, 22, Plutarch qualifies this by adding that the general who gained a victory by deceit or persuasion sacrificed an ox (to Ares, *Mor.* 238 F.). Cf. Lucian, *Iup. Trag.* 15, where Zeus complains of such a nig-gardly thank-offering for preservation from peril at sea. See also Callimachus, *Epigr.* 56.

forth any recorded ceremony except a bit of meat from the common mess for the bringer of the good news.¹ We are not clearly informed to what deity the cock was offered.² Perhaps it was not really a sacrifice at all, but some obscure bit of magic.³ If the *νικητήρια* developed from a propitiatory or avertive sacrifice before battle to an offering of thanksgiving after battle, it would present an interesting parallel to the evolution of the paean from a deprecatory or propitiatory hymn before battle to a chant of victory after battle. But the *νικητήρια* I prefer to put with the *εὐαγγέλια*, or thank-offering for good tidings, and derive both from the celebration banquet. In Homer there is no sacrifice for good news. The bringer of good tidings is rewarded, as at Sparta, with a piece of meat or some such trifle and, very significantly, this reward is called *εὐαγγέλιον*,⁴ the singular of the term later applied to the sacrifice for good news. In Aristophanes⁵ he is crowned for his tidings, as also in Plutarch,⁶ but in each case a sacrifice to the gods is added. The sacrifice for good tidings is mentioned both in Aristophanes⁷ and in Aeschines.⁸ It is probably not mere accident that these are public sacrifices. Private offerings tended to take the form of *ἀναθήματα*, which seem to be derived from the vow; public offerings I believe to have developed rather from the banquet; for in both *νικητήρια* and *εὐαγγέλια* the feeling of joy regularly found expression in a feast.⁹ They were originally manifestations of joy rather than of gratitude.

The Homeric heroes, with their voracious appetite for meat, often sacrificed animals with no ostensible object other than

¹ Plut. *Ages.* 33.

² Possibly to Ares, if τῷ Ἀρεὶ in *Mor.* 238 F. be taken also with ἀλεκτρούνα.

³ For a curious account of the use of the cock in magic see Pausanias, II, 34, 2. On its apotropaic significance see Gruppe, *Griechische Mythologie und Religionsgeschichte*, 795.

⁴ *Od.* XIV, 152, 166, the plural is similarly used in Pollux, VI, 186.

⁵ *Eq.* 647; *Plut.* 765.

⁶ *Sertorius*, 11; *Ar. Eq.* 656.

⁷ See, in addition to the instances already quoted, also *Eq.* 1320.

⁸ III, 160; cf. also Aesch. *Ag.* 594 and p. 104.

⁹ See Dem. XIX, 128, 139, 192; Eur. *Ion*, 1123 f. But a banquet might be promised in payment of a vow; Ap. Rh. IV, 1419.

to provide meat for a banquet. The suitors in the palace of Odysseus are continually sacrificing for their feasts,¹ and the same is true of the heroes in the Greek camp before Troy.² This is, of course, quite alien to the practices of many other nations³ and probably to earlier notions among the Greeks themselves.⁴ But in the Homeric poems we are face to face with dietary practices quite non-Hellenic. The problem has perhaps not yet found a satisfactory solution, but evidently such meals are not felt to be specifically religious acts. There are instances in the poems⁵ where, after the account of some great success, we might expect specific mention of thank-offering. Sometimes we are told that the Greeks sat down to a banquet,⁶ and if they do honor Athena or some other deity with a libation, it is only what they would do at any feast, and it does not make of the repast specifically a religious rite, any more than our grace before meat makes our meals religious exercises. But if we were dealing with a state of society where the sacral significance of meat eating had returned to consciousness, or, more probably, had never been obscured, we should find such a celebration banquet viewed as far more of a religious rite than Homer's Greeks evidently considered it. And after the epic period such a celebration, which even in Homer retained, if only in its terminology,⁷ the notion of sacrifice that in early agricultural communities seems inseparable from the eating of meat, would be felt by the more religiously inclined to be sacrifice, and would be interpreted as a thank-offering for benefits received. Among less religiously minded peoples or individuals, there was a contrary tendency to ignore the sacral aspect. When thank-offerings were decreed with motives purely political,⁸ to curry favor with a populace which enjoyed the banquets that invariably accompanied them, it was inevitable that the festal

¹ *Od.* xx, 3; xvii, 180 ff.; cf. xiv, 105.

² *Il.* xxiv, 123 ff.; ii, 402 ff.; cf. vi, 174.

³ Smith, *Religion of the Semites*², 222 f., 300, 307 f.

⁴ See Stengel, *Hermes*, xxviii, 1893 (489-500), especially 494 ff.; Hewitt, *Harvard Studies*, xix, 85, and cf. Farnell, *Cults*, i, 88 ff.

⁵ *E.g.* *Il.* x, 565 ff.; vii, 314.

⁶ *Il.* x, 578 f.; vii, 314.

⁷ *E.g.* the use of *λεπύω*.

⁸ *E.g.* *Ar. Eq.* 654 ff.

aspect be emphasized to the obscuration and ultimately to the practical elimination of every other feature. The feast is held for the pleasure of man rather than for the honor of God. The logical outcome is seen in the monstrous length of the Roman *supplicationes* when the thanksgiving aspect of that rite became prominent and it became a scene of jollity, prolonged over as much as fifty days in one instance.¹

¹ Cicero, *Phil.* xiv, 37; cf. the length of the Assyrian celebration banquet, Layard's *Nineveh*, II, 312.